UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3225
28 May 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 28 May 1993, at 6.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. VORONTSOV	(Russian Federation)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. BUDAI
	Japan	Mr. MARUYAMA
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

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93-85926 4600V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

AN AGENDA FOR PEACE: PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, PEACEMAKING AND PEACE-KEEPING

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"In accordance with its statement of 29 October 1992 (S/24728), the Security Council held a special meeting devoted to the Secretary-General's report entitled 'An Agenda for Peace' (S/24111). This meeting concluded the present stage of the examination of this report by the Council. On this occasion, the Council wishes to express once again its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his report.

"The Security Council recommends that all States make participation in and support for international peace-keeping a part of their foreign and national security policy. It considers that United Nations peace-keeping operations should be conducted in accordance with the following operational principles consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter: a clear political goal with a precise mandate subject to periodic review and to change in its character or duration only by the Council itself; the consent of the Government and, where appropriate, the parties concerned, save in exceptional cases; support for a political process or for the peaceful settlement of the dispute; impartiality in implementing Security Council decisions; readiness of the

(The President)

Security Council to take appropriate measures against parties which do not observe its decisions; the right of the Security Council to authorize all means necessary for United Nations forces to carry out their mandate and the inherent right of United Nations forces to take appropriate measures for self-defence. In this context, the Security Council emphasizes the need for the full cooperation of the parties concerned in implementing the mandates of peace-keeping operations, as well as relevant decisions of the Security Council and stresses that peace-keeping operations should not be a substitute for a political settlement nor should they be expected to continue in perpetuity.

"The Security Council has studied thoroughly the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in 'An Agenda for Peace'. It pays tribute to the valuable contributions made by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and other relevant bodies of the General Assembly. These discussions and consultations make it possible to formulate more clearly the common priorities of the Member States.

"In the context of the rapid growth in and new approaches to peace-keeping operations, the Security Council commends the initial measures taken by the Secretary-General to improve the capacity of the United Nations in this field. It believes that bold new steps are required and invites all Member States to make their views known to the Secretary-General and the Secretary-General to submit by September 1993 a further report addressed to all the Members of the United Nations containing specific new proposals for further enhancing these capabilities, including:

(The President)

- the strengthening and consolidation of the peace-keeping and military structure of the Secretariat, including creation of a plans and current operations directorate reporting to the Under-Secretary-General for peace-keeping operations to facilitate planning and to enhance coordination;

- notification by Member States of specific forces or capabilities which, with the approval of their national authorities, they could make available on a case-by-case basis to the United Nations for the full spectrum of peace-keeping or humanitarian operations; in this context, the Council welcomes the Secretary-General's effort to ascertain the readiness and availability of Member States' forces or capabilities for peace-keeping operations and encourages Member States to cooperate in this effort;

- the feasibility of maintaining a limited revolving reserve of equipment commonly used in peace-keeping or humanitarian operations;

- elements for inclusion in national military or police training programmes for peace-keeping operations to prepare personnel for a United Nations peace-keeping role, including suggestions concerning the feasibility of conducting multinational peace-keeping exercises;

- refinement of standardized procedures to enable forces to work together more effectively;

- developing the non-military elements of peace-keeping operations.

(The President)

"In view of the mounting cost and complexity of peace-keeping operations, the Security Council also requests the Secretary-General in his report to address measures designed to place them on a more solid and durable financial basis, taking into account where appropriate the Volcker-Ogata report and addressing the necessary financial and managerial reforms, diversification of funding, and the need to ensure adequate resources for peace-keeping operations and maximum transparency and accountability in the use of resources. In this context the Council recalls that, in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the financing of peace-keeping operations is the collective responsibility of all Member States. It calls upon all Member States to pay their assessed contributions in full and on time and encourages those States which can do so to make voluntary contributions.

"The Security Council expresses gratitude to the soldiers and civilians who have served or are serving in United Nations peace-keeping operations. It pays tribute to the courageous nationals of dozens of States who were killed or wounded while fulfilling their duty to the United Nations. It also strongly condemns attacks on United Nations peace-keepers and declares its determination to undertake more decisive efforts to ensure the security of United Nations personnel in the course of fulfilling their duties.

"In accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter, the Security Council notes the necessity to strengthen the United Nations potential for preventive diplomacy. It welcomes United Nations General Assembly resolution 47/120. It notes with satisfaction the increased use of fact-finding missions. It invites Member States to provide the

(The President)

Secretary-General with relevant detailed information on situations of tension and potential crisis. It invites the Secretary-General to consider appropriate measures for strengthening the Secretariat's capacity to collect and analyse information. The Security Council recognizes the importance of new approaches to prevention of conflicts, and supports preventive deployment, on a case-by-case basis, in zones of instability and potential crisis the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The Security Council underlines the close link which may exist, in many cases, between humanitarian assistance and peace-keeping operations and highly appreciates recent efforts by the Secretary-General aimed at further improvement of coordination among Member States and relevant agencies and organizations, including non-governmental organizations. It reiterates, in this context, its concern that humanitarian personnel should have unimpeded access to those in need.

"The Security Council reaffirms the importance it attaches to the role of regional arrangements and organizations and to coordination between their efforts and those of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council welcomes the readiness of Member States, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, to cooperate with the United Nations and other Member States by providing their particular resources and capabilities for peace-keeping purposes. The Security Council, acting within the framework of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, calls upon regional organizations and arrangements to consider ways and means of enhancing their contributions to the maintenance of peace and security.

(The President)

For its part the Security Council expresses its readiness to support and facilitate, taking into account specific circumstances, peace-keeping efforts undertaken in the framework of regional organizations and arrangements in accordance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. The Security Council looks forward to the report of the Secretary-General on cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations.

"The Security Council draws attention to the increasing significance of post-conflict peace-building. The Council is convinced that in present circumstances peace-building is inseparably linked with the maintenance of peace.

"The Security Council stresses the value of high-level meetings of the Security Council and expresses its intention to convene such a meeting on the subject of peace-keeping in the near future."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/25859.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

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PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3226
1 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 1 June 1993, at 6.15 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. CARDOSO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARDSON
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARBIA

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93-85939 4517V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 6.15 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of June, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Yuliy M. Vorontsov, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of May 1993. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Vorontsov for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION II (UNAVEM II) (S/25840 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola and Portugal, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Miranda (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Catarino (Portugal) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission, document S/25840 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25857, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker on my list is the Vice-Minister of External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Joao Bernardo Miranda. I welcome his Excellency and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. MIRANDA (Angola) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): It is with great honour that I address this important meeting of the Security Council dedicated to the examination of the Angola question, in the light of the failed Abidjan meeting that put the Government and UNITA face to face for the third time since the start of the post-election crisis in Angola.

Allow me, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola, to express our appreciation for the efforts and interest with which the Security Council has dedicated itself in support of peace in Angola. This meeting is one more proof of the efforts of the international community to seek a peaceful solution to the Angolan crisis.

(Mr. Miranda, Angola)

The Secretary-General's report to the Security Council reflects in great measure the tragic situation that prevails at the present time in my country. It also reflects clearly what actually took place in Abidjan for about two months and gives clear enough indications that allow us easily to conclude that the failure of the negotiations - as, incidentally, the peace observers in Angola had already stated - was due entirely and exclusively to UNITA.

UNITA rekindled the war in Angola after a relative peace that lasted little more than a year, thereby cheating the Angolan people of their expectations of a better life.

Even as I speak, Mr. Savimbi has ordered his troops to renew military actions against the people and the destruction of economic infrastructures. Many people are being subjected to the most unimaginable abuses that humans can stand. UNITA is destroying everything. In the cities, towns, villages and other communities that UNITA occupies there is only desolation. Due to its lack of capability and experience in public administration, UNITA has reduced all the social life of the people in this area to a primitive state.

Those who show themselves to be against the war or who are suspected of having relatives in the Government are cold-bloodedly murdered by firearms or are flung into bonfires. As in the past, and with increasing intensity, the UNITA leader continues to judge Angolans according to their tribal, ethnic or racial origin, defying the laws of the Republic, which classify as a crime against national unity, the inciting of tribalism, racism and any practices offensive to the harmony of the Angolan family.

Indeed, the dramatic situation that prevails today in the so-called areas under UNITA's control, is a result of Mr. Savimbi's refusal to allow the teams

(Mr. Miranda, Angola)

of international humanitarian organizations to move around the country in order to evaluate the actual needs of the captive people in those areas.

In addition, the people who manage to escape UNITA's terror are picked up almost daily and sheltered by the State authorities in war refugee centres where their survival is guaranteed by international humanitarian assistance. At the present time, more than two million war refugees coming from all parts of the country, mainly from center-south, particularly from Huambo, are being registered in the various refugee centres created in the provinces of Huila, Benguela, Kwanza-Norte, Moxico, Luanda, Cabinda and so on.

The situation has taken on a truly terrifying nature. Several hundred children, without parents or close relatives are being sheltered in foster homes and in orphanages where they cannot always receive the best care due to various difficulties. As if this were not enough, UNITA does not even respect the war refugee centres.

A little less than two weeks ago, one of Mr. Savimbi's commandos penetrated a field of refugees on the outskirts of the city of Luena, Moxico province, in the east of Angola, and murdered 45 people, including women, children and old people, in cold blood. Last Saturday, UNITA attacked a passenger train travelling from the city of Lubango to the town of Matala, Huila province. The attack caused the death of 225 people and a considerable number of wounded.

With the help of the most modern war technology received from South Africa, and with consulting services provided by individuals that are assumed to be from the South African and Zairian armies and mercenaries, UNITA is holding siege over some major population centres in the area under the control of the Government. That is the case of the towns of Menongue, Cuito and Luena in the centre, south and eastern parts of the country, respectively, in which

(Mr. Miranda, Angola)

life has been practically snuffed out. The hospitals there are closed due to lack of medications, the drinking water and electric power distribution systems are inoperative and any kind of aid operation to the besieged is prevented - in short, a whole, terrifying barrage of calamities of incalculable consequences.

These are just a few scattered inmages of our national tragedy and this is the most immediate result of the war that the militarist wing of UNITA is waging on Angola. This is the idea of democracy of the man called Dr. Savimbi, whom certain Heads of States Members of the United Nations admire and have high regard for, an attitude that should be ended. In reality, the situation just described, although far from exhaustive is, nevertheless, self-explanatory. We are trying to show the essence and the nature of the war-prone wing of UNITA.

It would not be unreasonable for the international community, in light of the extremely serious situation prevailing in Angola since the violent rejection by Mr. Savimbi of the results of the democratic elections, to recognize that UNITA today constitutes a serious threat to regional peace and security.

(Mr. Miranda, Angola)

This is the most logical conclusion, which results above all from the fact that UNITA, after proclaiming to the four winds that it went to Abidjan to negotiate peace and the process of national reconciliation, refused in the meantime to sign the Protocol of agreement, in which so many useful efforts were made. This act, which came as no surprise - at least to our Government - is in itself demonstrative of the fact that UNITA does not regard the path of dialogue as the final alternative to peace in Angola.

Everything indicates that UNITA has not relinquished its old dream of taking power by force. Decidedly, UNITA has bet on the destruction of democracy in Angola, with all the consequences for the processes of democratization in the region and perhaps throughout the continent of Africa. The Government of the Republic of Angola has always defended a peaceful solution to the crisis created by UNITA and considers that during the Abidjan talks, sufficient proofs were given, going even to the limit of concessions to facilitate the re-establishment of peace in the country and to end once and for all the suffering of the people.

From this standpoint, nothing, absolutely nothing has constituted the slightest obstacle to UNITA's agreeing to sign the Protocol of Abidjan. In the face of this attitude, which represents yet another instance of flagrant disrespect for the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council, the international community must act with the speed, effectiveness and efficiency required to preserve peace in Angola, so that democracy may become a reality in Africa.

To achieve this goal, strong condemnatory and sanctioning measures capable of forcing UNITA to accept, de facto, the democratic game and to participate in the overall process of pacification of the country and of

(Mr. Miranda, Angola)

national reconciliation should be adopted in this important meeting of the United Nations Security Council.

It is necessary to demand the withdrawal of UNITA's troops from the area that it occupies and their subsequent billeting and disarming. It would also be extremely useful to take other practical measures right here and now, such as prohibiting the granting of travel documents to and limiting free movement by UNITA's leaders in all the States Members of the United Nations. UNITA must be made to feel the moral and political weight and force of the international community, and it is only through practical measures that UNITA will return to the negotiating table and accept the re-establishment of peace in Angola. The Government stands ready to re-establish the dialogue.

I have already referred to the monstrosities of the war waged by UNITA on the Angolan people and its crippling effects. I must here now also express the recognition of the Angolan Government for the efforts made by international humanitarian organizations to meet the basic needs of our people, despite terrorist threats and actions by UNITA aimed at preventing humanitarian assistance from reaching the needy.

The Government defends the principle that humanitarian aid must reach all corners of the country where it is needed. And, in the light of the legitimacy conferred upon it, the Government cannot be excluded from the distribution operations, because the aid is intended for people who conferred on it a mandate to govern the country. The efforts of the United Nations and of the international community as a whole with regard to humanitarian assistance must be coordinated with the Government, and it is imperative that it be so in order to define the authority of the State throughout the national territory.

(Mr. Miranda, Angola)

The humanistic philosophy of the Government, the fact that it is a Government of national unity, its sense of patriotic duty and its desire to see a reduction in the suffering of its people will never allow the use of this aid for political purposes. We are a Government elected by the people, and by this same people the acts of its leaders are judged. In this manner, the machinations put forward by those who do not wish to see an end to the suffering to which the Angolan people are so lamentably being subjected are devoid of any justification.

The draft resolution before us, which the Council will soon adopt, will serve as one more demonstration of support by the international community, and in particular the Security Council, for the efforts we are making to find a final and lasting solution for peace in Angola.

In conclusion, we reiterate that the Angolan Government is willing to engage in dialogue so that peace, national reconciliation and democracy may become a reality in Angola.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CATARINO (Portugal): At the outset, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your sound judgement and great skills will, I am certain, be crucial to the smooth and efficient work of the Council in the weeks to come. I should also like to extend my sincere congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Vorontsov, for the very capable manner in which he guided the deliberations of the Council during the month of May.

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

The frustration we all feel as a result of the failure of the Abidjan talks should neither lead us to lose hope nor to consider giving up our efforts. Although it is the Angolans themselves who must agree on peace and construct their own future, the international community and the Security Council must assume their responsibilities in this matter and cannot ignore or lose interest in what is happening in Angola.

The war in Angola and all the accompanying suffering, the destruction and the deaths - more than 1,000 a day - must not become a forgotten and faraway war. The effects of this conflict are not limited to the country itself. The peace and international security of all of southern Africa is at stake. What happens in Angola may have repercussions in Mozambique, in South Africa and in many other African countries that have taken concrete steps towards setting up democratic institutions and where electoral processes have already been carried out or will be in the future.

For six weeks in Abidjan, we witnessed enormous efforts on the part of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Miss Anstee; the Portuguese, Russian and American observers; President Houphouet-Boigny; and Foreign Minister Amara Essy. We should like to take this opportunity to pay special tribute to President Boigny and Mr. Essy for their admirable work, and, of course, to Miss Margaret Anstee for her untiring commitment and dedication to the cause of peace in the face of such immense difficulties.

These efforts must be continued, and we must try to build upon them. In fact, some progress was made with regard to a number of important issues. Unfortunately, however, UNITA did not accept the proposal that the observers made in a last attempt to reach a compromise. It is necessary to bring the parties back to the negotiating table and absolutely imperative that the cease-fire be re-established.

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

The international community, the countries involved in the peace process, the States neighbouring Angola and the Security Council must unite their efforts, throwing all their combined weight into exerting maximum pressure on the party that is refusing to seek, honestly and in good faith, a peaceful solution to the conflict in Angola. It is especially necessary that the weight of the Security Council should be felt effectively and that its resolutions, particularly resolutions 804 (1993) and 811 (1993), should not turn out to have been merely exercises in rhetoric.

In our view, it is essential to make absolutely clear that those responsible for violations of the "Acordos de Paz" and who insist on not respecting the minimum standards of international behaviour must be made aware of the consequences they will suffer unless they change their position. The party that is opting for war must know that not only should it not count on keeping its territorial gains or spoils of war at the negotiating table, but also that it cannot hope to build the future of the country on those spoils nor hope to have a place in the international community.

We believe that the role of the United Nations is and will continue to be crucial not only in the search for peace but also in bringing emergency humanitarian assistance to all Angolans. We hope that the resolution before the Council will have a positive effect on the continuation of those endeavours, to which we must all remain committed.

For our part, we will continue to make all efforts to ensure that the negotiations will resume as soon as possible in order to bring to an end a tragedy that is engulfing, above all, the people of Angola, who have been the worst victims of the war.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Portugal for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. CARDOSO (Brazil): May I, at the outset, express the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you, Mr. President, presiding over the work of the Security Council. We have no doubt that your skilful leadership will be a most relevant contribution to our deliberations during the month of June. I should also like to express the gratitude of my delegation to your predecessor, Ambassador Vorontsov of the Russian Federation, for the able way in which he guided our work during the busy month of May.

It is with deep disappointment that we received the news of the failure of the talks between the Government of Angola and UNITA in Abidjan. Brazil had placed great expectations on the results of those talks, as had other countries: the future of millions of Angolans was at stake. To our great dismay, however, the negotiations were interrupted before the results we had hoped for had been achieved, namely, an immediate cease-fire throughout the whole country, as demanded under Security Council resolution 811 (1993), and the prompt resumption of the peace process, aimed at the full implementation of the Acordos de Paz.

(Mr. Cardoso, Brazil)

Despite the untiring efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Miss Margaret Anstee, and the constructive contribution of the three observer States, the talks could not be concluded in a successful manner because of the refusal of UNITA to sign the Abidjan documents. That situation is extremely deplorable and calls for an appropriate reaction from the international community.

As noted in the draft resolution before the Security Council, the Government of Angola has on various occasions given proof of willingness to work towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict withing the framework of respect for democratic principles and in a spirit of national reconciliation. We highly commend that willingness on the part of the Government of Angola and cannot but regret that UNITA has yet to show evidence of a similar disposition.

It is our sincere hope that UNITA will heed the voice of the international community and agree to stop the fighting and work within the framework of the values of legitimacy and democratic participation. One of the main advantages of the democratic system of government is that it allows for coexistence and collaboration between parties with the most divergent opinions. We believe that therein lies the key to solving the conflict in Angola.

Brazil is following the situation in Angola with great alarm. We are especially concerned over the humanitarian consequences of the hostilities, which are bringing unspeakable suffering for millions in Angola. The Brazilian people is linked to the people of Angola by close ties of friendship and by a close historical and cultural kinship. We value those ties highly and will continue to contribute, to the best of our ability, to promoting a peaceful and democratic solution to the conflict in that country.

(Mr. Cardoso, Brazil)

The senseless, fratricidal conflict in Angola resulting from the resumption of attacks by UNITA over the last few months has already taken a heavy toll and is causing enormous destruction. For reasons that we fail to understand, the situation there, which is among the gravest now under consideration by the Security Council, is not receiving as much attention from the international news media as other crises in other regions of the world. That is very unfortunate: we believe that human lives and human dignity are the very same in every country, in every region.

The United Nations and the Security Council have a difficult but fundamentally important task to carry out in Angola. Here, as elsewhere, the fact that the task is difficult cannot be seen as a reason to step back from it, but should rather be regarded as an indication that there is a challenge to be met, and that it must be met with our best efforts and our best attention.

The Brazilian Government is convinced that, in the current circumstances, it remains essential that the United Nations have a strong presence in Angola, that it be ready to work with the two parties to explore each and every opportunity for resuming the peace process and for imparting fresh impetus to it, and that it signal its determination to support democracy and peace. That is why we favour renewing the existing mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) at its current manpower level, coupled with provision for its substantial expansion as soon as possible. There is an exceedingly important stabilising role to be played by the United Nations in Angola today, and we want to see that role continued and strengthened.

(Mr. Cardoso, Brazil)

The continuation of the conflict in Angola poses a political and moral challenge to the United Nations. The choice is between the road of democracy and that of armed conflict. The question to be solved has an indisputably ethical content: whether democratic reconciliation is to be promoted, or whether the use of force is to be rewarded. There is no doubt about what our choice must be, and the draft resolution we are about to adopt makes it abundantly clear. It is our hope that this message will be clearly understood by all those who are concerned about the future of Angola and of its long-suffering people.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): I should like to start by congratulating you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Council for this month. It goes without saying that my delegation pledges you its full support.

I also take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Vorontsov of the Russian Federation on the able leadership he gave the Council's deliberations in the course of last month.

My delegation has on many occasions advocated a peaceful and just solution to the Angolan conflict. We regret that notwithstanding the "Acordos de Paz par Angola" and the relevant Security Council resolutions, and despite the efforts of the Council and the Secretary-General to promote and assist the peace process in Angola, no progress has been made so far. We continue to believe that there is no viable alternative to a negotiated solution to the Angolan conflict.

Resolution 811 (1993) on the Angolan situation demanded, inter alia, an immediate cease-fire throughout the country as well as the resumption of a dialogue between the two parties under United Nations auspices, with a view to agreeing on a calendar for the implementation of the Peace Accords as early as possible. We were pleased to note the follow-up action that the Secretary-General took, in pursuance of the mandate given him by that resolution, in promoting the holding of the Abidjan meeting. We were very encouraged by the efforts put into that meeting. Indeed, after many attempts to reach a negotiated solution to the current crisis had failed we expected the Abidjan process to produce a breakthrough. Regrettably, once again there was no final agreement. We are disappointed to note that nothing final came out of Abidjan after five weeks of intense negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General's Special Representative.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

We urge the two parties to redouble their efforts towards a negotiated solution, and in this context encourage the Secretary-General to continue, through his Special Representative, his current efforts to assist the two parties to achieve a meeting of minds that could bring the Bicesse Accords back on track. No party, however lofty its political goals for the country might be, has a right to shy away from committing itself to a serious effort to achieve a negotiated solution to the Angolan crisis. The price in loss of human life and in destruction caused to the country is too high, and it demands that there be no procrastination in achieving a negotiated solution.

Although the Abidjan negotiations failed to achieve any final agreement, they produced substantial areas of agreement on many issues discussed by the two parties. The results achieved in Abidjan should therefore be taken into account and built on when United Nations-sponsored negotiations resume - hopefully, soon.

We have been anxiously waiting for a breakthrough in the negotiations so as to enable the Council to consider the extension and expansion of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) as expected. Unfortunately, the Council has not been able to do so, on account of the lack of progress in the dialogue between the two parties. Thus today we have no other choice than to proceed to the interim renewal of the present UNAVEM mandate for another two months. We share the views of those who believe that this extended period should meanwhile be put to good use by the parties. We also share the Secretary-General's view that it would be unthinkable for the United Nations to abandon Angola at this critical juncture. The situation in Angola is critical to stability and peace in the southern African region. The United Nations assistance and presence in Angola is therefore of paramount importance.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

We strongly support the incorporation of an important element of humanitarian assistance in UNAVEM's mandate, for we are of the opinion that the critical humanitarian situation prevailing in Angola deserves and demands the support of the international community.

I should like to express my delegation's appreciation to the three observer countries of the peace process - Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America - for their continuing and most useful assistance to the Angolan peace process. Our tribute goes to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Miss Margaret Anstee, for their commitment and their good work in handling the Angolan dossier. Finally, we should also like to pay tribute to the Government of Côte d'Ivoire for its assistance to the Angolan negotiations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Cape Verde for the kind words that he addressed to me.

The Council will now vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/25857.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 834 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Russian Federation would like first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and to wish you every success. I also wish to thank you for the kind words you extended to me.

The Russian delegation welcomes to this meeting the Vice-Minister of External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Jaoa Bernardo Miranda. We are sure that his participation in this meeting will help us move forward in achieving a political settlement of the Angolan crisis.

There is serious concern in Moscow over the situation that has emerged around the Angolan settlement after the interruption of negotiations between the representatives of the Government of Angola and of UNITA in Abidjan, under United Nations auspices. The negotiations took place over several weeks, with the participation of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and observers from Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States. The basic reason for the lack of success of the negotiations lies in the, frankly, unconstructive approach adopted by the leadership of UNITA, and personally by Mr. Savimbi, to the process of a peaceful settlement.

The situation is worsened by the fact that recently in Angola the armed forces of UNITA have again launched military operations that have resulted in many human casualties and have jeopardized the possibility of a peaceful political settlement to the Angolan crisis. UNITA's resumption of hostilities confirms the fact that that organization and its leadership still do not wish to move in the direction of national conciliation and completion of the electoral process under United Nations auspices, but are endeavouring to solve the problem by military force, seeking to entrench their power in the country by force of arms, despite the fact that that road can lead only to failure.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

As a result of these actions, the country is now on the brink of national disaster; the Angolan people have become hostage to a civil war that has caused many casualties and much suffering for the peaceful population, and a sharp deterioration of the humanitarian situation.

In these circumstances, the international community has articulated a policy of principle aimed at getting the settlement process back on track.

On 21 May 1993 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation issued a statement on the situation in Angola; it welcomed the decision of the United States Administration to recognize the legitimate Government of Angola and emphasized that

> "that step was in full accord with the efforts Russia has peristently made both in the context of the 'troika' of observers - Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America - and in the Security Council, striving to achieve recognition of the new political reality in Angola following the democratic elections held there in September 1992".

We wish to pay a tribute to the Government of Côte d'Ivoire and its President, Mr. Félix Houphouet-Boigny, for their important work aimed at securing success for the Abidjan peace negotiations.

When the Abidjan negotiations were halted on 21 May 1993, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Miss Anstee, expressed the hope that it would be possible eventually to overcome the differences, resume the negotiations and reach agreement on a cease-fire. We too hope that the leadership of UNITA will be able to display the necessary political realism and responsibility, and return to true interaction with the Government of

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Angola with a view to achieving an immediate cease-fire and a just and lasting settlement in that country on the basis of the Bicesse Accords and relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

But if the UNITA leadership continues to flout the international community, the Security Council will have to consider all appropriate measures in accordance with the United Nations Charter to put an end to these actions, which disregard its decisions and undermine the authority of the Organization.

The Russian delegation voted in favour of resolution 834 (1993) in the hope that events in Angola can be returned to the path of peace. Along with the rest of the international community, the Russian Federation is ready to undertake active efforts to promote a political settlement of the Angolan situation.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. ZHANG Yan (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, Sir, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that with your rich experience, wisdom and talent you will successfully guide the work of the Council in June.

I would like to take this opportunity also to thank Mr. Yuliy M. Vorontsov, the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation, for his outstanding leadership of the Council's work in the month of May.

(Mr. Zhang Yan, China)

The Chinese delegation is greatly concerned about the situation in Angola. We have noted with concern that the road to peace for that war-ridden country is full of setbacks and difficulties. We would like to express our deep sympathy with the country and the people of Angola.

The only solution to the Angola question is to remove differences and achieve national reconciliation through negotiation and dialogue. It is short-sighted and undesirable for any side to attempt victory by resorting to military force. The peace negotiations between the two Angolan parties, recently held at Abidjan, constituted an important step in the search for a political solution to the Angola question. Regrettably, these failed to achieve the expected result. We hope that the parties concerned in Angola will realize the seriousness of the current situation in Angola and resume their negotiations as soon as possible bearing in mind the long-term national interest. In particular, we urge UNITA to adopt a serious and constructive attitude so as to make substantial progress in the negotiations at an early date.

The United Nations has already played and will continue to play its role in the political settlement of the Angola question. At this crucial moment in the Angolan peace process, the Chinese delegation supports the United Nations and the international community in their continuous efforts towards a peaceful settlement in Angola, and is in favour of the Secretary-General's suggestion that the United Nations should continue its presence in Angola. We therefore are in favour of extending the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

My delegation has studied with care and concern the new report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II). Through its resolutions 804 (1993) and 811 (1993), the Security Council has already firmly condemned the persistent violations of the Peace Accords and, in particular, rejection by UNITA of the election results, its non-participation in the political institutions created on the basis of those elections, its withdrawal from the new Angolan armed forces and its seizure by force of provincial capitals and towns, and, of course, the resumption of hostilities.

Today we note that despite all the warnings and appeals, Angola has been plunged into a conflict that the Secretary-General himself describes as even more intense than the war that has beset the Angolan people for more than 30 years.

The efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, which have enjoyed the invaluable support of the States observers of the peace process - Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States - and that of the leadership of Ethiopia and, especially, the President of Côte d'Ivoire, Mr. Félix Houphouet-Boigny, have thus far been frustrated by UNITA's intransigence. The Abidjan talks had aroused our hope; until the last moment, we were confident that UNITA would agree to sign the protocol establishing a

(The President)

cease-fire throughout the country and making it possible to resume the peace process under United Nations auspices. One must therefore condemn UNITA's refusal to withdraw its forces from all the areas it has occupied in violation of the Accords, which in the final analysis caused the suspension of the negotiations.

None the less, we consider that the depth and intensity of the Abidjan talks should still make it possible to reach an agreement, provided that the movement led by Mr. Savimbi chooses the path of reason. In any event, the progress achieved in the negotiations should be preserved as the starting point for a future meeting between the parties under United Nations auspices.

(The President)

With a view to the future signing of an agreement, our Organization must be prepared to act speedily in order to increase, as far as may be necessary, the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) forces and to modify appropriately the Mission's mandate.

In his last report the Secretary-General emphasizes the humanitarian tragedy which is now unfolding in Angola. A catastrophe of such magnitude requires the urgent adoption of appropriate measures. For this reason, my delegation wishes to express its support for the emergency plan drawn up by the United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit in Luanda. Spain will accordingly participate in the Geneva conference which is to take place on 3 June.

It is obvious, as the Secretary-General states in his report, that the persistent situation of armed conflict in Angola makes it very difficult to bring assistance to the population. It is therefore essential that President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi give their agreement to the emergency plan that has been submitted by the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Angola, Miss Anstee, with a view to the establishment of land and air corridors through which it would be possible to channel under safe conditions the humanitarian assistance required to various sites and on specific days.

I must express my country's grave concern about the Secretary-General's references in his report to:

"massive human rights violations and other atrocities committed against unarmed civilians in the course of the conflict". (S/25840, para. 26)

(The President)

As the Secretary-General points out:

> "It is imperative that both parties respect their responsibilities under international humanitarian law ..." (ibid)

in conformity with the repeated demands of the Security Council.

In the present circumstances, we cannot fail to support the renewal of UNAVEM II's mandate for an additional period of 45 days, taking note of the important change that has been effected in its mandate. Indeed, the Secretary-General's Special Representative and all of UNAVEM's personnel must continue to focus, on the one hand, on the good offices and mediation mission, with the objective of restoring the cease-fire and resuming the peace process in accordance with the Bicesse Accords, and, on the other hand, coordinate the provision of humanitarian assistance to the civilian population that requires aid.

Spain fervently hopes that in the period for which we are today extending UNAVEM II's mandate, it will be possible to make substantive progress on the path towards peace in Angola. There can be no doubt that, if the difficulties to which I have referred were to persist, the international community would be obliged to reconsider its intervention in this tragic conflict with a view to more decisive action.

Finally, I wish to express my Government's admiration and support for the efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Angola, Miss Anstee, and all the members of UNAVEM II, as well as the staff serving the United Nations and other organizations charged with providing humanitarian assistance in that country. The work done by these people, in extremely difficult circumstances, and often at the risk of their own lives, should encourage us in the search for a real and lasting solution to this grave crisis.

(The President)

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.